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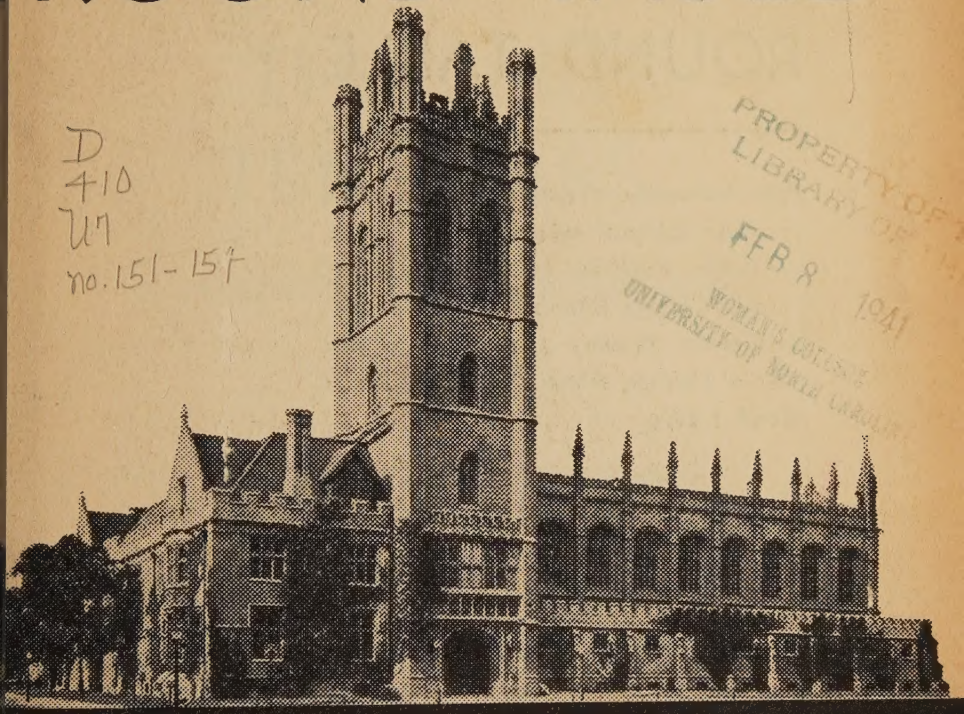

THE LAST TEN YEARS

PERCY BOYNTON · WINFRED GARRISON · T. V. SMITH

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NOTE

The supplementary information contained in the footnotes to the following text, developed by staff research, is not to be considered as representing the opinions of the ROUND TABLE *speakers. Following the transcript of the broadcast are questions which readers may wish to use for analysis and discussion. It is hoped that teachers and discussion leaders may find this additional service of the* ROUND TABLE *transcript helpful in their study of the subject discussed in the broadcast.*

THE LAST TEN YEARS

A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST*

PERCY H. BOYNTON, Professor of English, University of Chicago

WINFRED GARRISON, Associate Professor of Church History, University of Chicago

T. V. SMITH, Visiting Professor of Philosophy, University of Illinois

* A radio discussion broadcast from the University of Chicago over the Red Network of the National Broadcasting Company, Sunday, February 2, 1941, at 1:30 P.M., Central Standard Time.

The ROUND TABLE, oldest educational program continuously on the air, is broadcast entirely without a script. Subjects are chosen because of their social, political, or economic significance. The program has no "ax to grind." In the selection of speakers, the effort is to provide a balanced discussion by participants who have special competence and knowledge. The opinion of each speaker is his own and in no way involves the responsibility of either the University of Chicago or the National Broadcasting Company.

THE LAST TEN YEARS

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ANNOUNCER: *Ten years ago today the* ROUND TABLE *discussed "Prohibition and the Wickersham Report."*

MR. BOYNTON: "T. V."— I mean, of course, "Professor Smith," did you notice the quip in the last number of the London *Punch* on the great question of the moment?

MR. SMITH: Never mind the "Professor," but I'll bite, Mr. Bone—I mean, Mr. Boynton. What was it?

MR. BOYNTON: Well, it explained that the drouth relief program before Congress just now has nothing to do with Prohibition.

MR. GARRISON: It must be admitted that it takes a large and varied vocabulary to describe all the things that some of you "wets" have done to Prohibition, or tried to do.[1]

ANNOUNCER: *With these same words these three men began the first University of Chicago* ROUND TABLE *ten years ago today. On this tenth anniversary broadcast the* ROUND TABLE *brings you a discussion of "The Last Ten Years" by the three original* ROUND TABLE *participants.*

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[1] *The Prohibition amendment was proposed by Congress in December, 1917; in January, 1919, it had been ratified by the necessary thirty-six states and became effective January 16, 1920, as the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The proposal to repeal the amendment was passed by Congress in February, 1933, and went into effect in December of that year (as the Twenty-First Amendment), having been ratified by a sufficient number of state conventions.*

MR. SMITH: Gentlemen, this epochal decade through which we have passed has been in part political. I think I know what I am talking about when I say that it has been political.

MR. GARRISON: You should, having been deep in it.

MR. SMITH: I think that if we look back over the ten years from the point of view of politics we should say that at the beginning of the ten years, in spite of the "Square Deal." . . . . Does that register with you, Boynton?

MR. BOYNTON: Oh, yes! I was in it.

MR. SMITH: And the new freedom. . . . . Does that register with you, Garrison?

MR. GARRISON: Yes, I know what that means.

MR. SMITH: Teddy Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson . . . .

MR. GARRISON: I've heard of them!

MR. SMITH: We have stayed with our general philosophy—that is, we believed then that that government is best which governs least—inherited from Washington, Hamilton and Jefferson.

MR. BOYNTON: That is what my old friend Henry D. Thoreau said in his *Essay on Civil Disobedience.*[2]

MR. SMITH: It is not only what Thoreau said; it is what every

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[2] *Henry David Thoreau was an American naturalist and author (1817–1862). Of him Emerson wrote: "He was bred to no profession; he never married; he lived alone; he never went to church; he never voted; he refused to pay a tax to the state; he ate no flesh; he drank no wine; he never knew the use of tobacco; and, though a naturalist, he used neither trap nor gun."*

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patriotic American has said for almost 150 years, though, of course, "least"—when you say "that government is best which governs least"—may mean a great many things.

I believe at the beginning of the decade in which we had the pleasure of helping initiate this ROUND TABLE, that that still meant, substantially, two things. One was the maintenance of internal order.

MR. GARRISON: You mean the police power of the states.

MR. SMITH: Yes, I mean the police power: simply keeping the peace at home. The other thing that government meant was the safeguarding of our nation against external aggression.

MR. BOYNTON: That is the whole problem of war, then.

MR. SMITH: When government, particularly the federal government, had done these two things, the citizen leaned back and said: "Well, government has done all that it can do because that government is best which governs least, and this is the least that we can have."

MR. GARRISON: It is interesting that you bring together Hamilton and Jefferson who, though they were partners, represented two distinctly opposing views.

MR. SMITH: They taught us the great, good sportsmanship, that the ROUND TABLE has tried to carry on, of men of very different opinions sitting down peacefully for the good of the country to discuss things in the spirit of sweet reasonableness.

MR. BOYNTON: Yes, and yet from all my study of history, I'd say that what the supporters of Hamilton said about Jefferson did not have that "sweet reasonableness."

MR. SMITH: Well, they talked bad about Jefferson and Jefferson about them, but they did not cut each other's throats.

MR. BOYNTON: They blasted each other's reputations, or at least they blasted Jefferson's.[3]

MR. GARRISON: Yes, but don't you think they did agree more or less upon the limitation of the functions of government?

MR. BOYNTON: That was the very difference between the Democrats and the Federalists. The Federalists objected to a Democratic extension of those powers.

MR. SMITH: Are you gentlemen trying to keep me hanging up in the air, or will you let me finish this?

MR. BOYNTON: Go right along, T. V.!

MR. GARRISON: The ROUND TABLE always has its feet on the ground.

MR. SMITH: I say that in this decade in which we live we have advanced the philosophy of government (backward, if you think so, gentlemen). We have advanced it to maintaining a new duty on the part of *all* government, but particularly the federal government, for now government is committed to the proposition that it must maintain a minimum standard of life for all of its citizens: including the aged; including the helpless at the other end of life; the young; the mothers; including the unemployables.

MR. BOYNTON: Are you speaking about government in the abstract now or about American government?

MR. SMITH: I am speaking of American government, Sir, that we discussed in the campaigns that we have just closed. But

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[3] *For an interesting commentary on the politics of the Jeffersonian period, with a great deal of material taken from the contemporary press, see Claude Bowers' "Jefferson and Hamilton" (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1925) and his "Jefferson in Power" (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 1936).*

here is a magnificent change in government, if you like it, and that is that in passing from a protective attitude of the minimum we pass to the constructive attitude of the maximum. Now both parties—Mr. Willkie's as much as Mr. Roosevelt's—agree not only upon aid to Britain but they agree upon this new conception of the service state; that in order to maintain internal order, and in order to safeguard against external oppression, we must now undertake to maintain a minimum standard of life for all of our citizens.

MR. BOYNTON: Then we are illustrating that, in a way, by the very subject of our first broadcast, which was on the question of police powers.

MR. SMITH: Yes, exactly! And now no subject which we would take up would even contemplate that sort of governmental police powers.

MR. GARRISON: Yes, but permit me to observe, as the person who defended Prohibition ten years ago, that that should be conceived not merely as an exercise of police powers, but as an extension of the governmental operations for the public welfare.

MR. SMITH: Of course, and what's brought us to change the meaning of the word "prohibition" itself away from liquor and all such things is that governments have arisen in the world that made "prohibition" mean the suppression of liberty.

ANNOUNCER: *February, 1931, to March, 1933: In the sparsely populated pine country around Hopewell, New Jersey, Charles Augustus Lindbergh, Jr., 19-month old son of America's best-known flying hero, was kidnapped and murdered. Two months after the first* ROUND TABLE, *Alfonso XIII of Spain fled his country and Republicans took control. In what was soon to become "Das dritte Reich" aged Paul von Hindenburg was elected President of the German Republic. The "bonus army" was routed from the flats of Anacostia, and through-*

out the middle west hardfaced farmers, members of the "farm holiday" movement, dumped milk from trucks, tried vainly to fight sagging prices.

March, 1933, to November, 1936: The bank holiday was declared and the blue eagle roosted in stores and offices all over the land. In May, Chicago opened its World's Fair. By late fall repeal was assured when 37 states ratified the Twenty-First Amendment to the Constitution. In Austria Engelbert Dollfuss seized power as dictator to rule for 160 days before the bark of a Nazi pistol was to end his life.[4] *Five little girls were born in Callendar, Ontario: the Dionne quintuplets. In the middle of the year it was announced that sixteen million persons—an all-time high—were on federal relief rolls. Ethiopia was invaded by Italy. Alfred Mossman Landon was his name—the Republican candidate in 1936. November saw President Roosevelt sweeping to a great victory for another four years as Chief Executive of these United States.*[5] *U.S. Steel was up again—this time to 76; and the University of Minnesota for three years had the nation's outstanding football team.*

MR. GARRISON: Well, that is a marvelous catalog of events, isn't it? That really gets us down into modern history.

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[4] *Dollfuss had seized complete power by suppressing the social-democrats in February, 1934, during a putsch in which there was considerable street fighting and in which such well-known model working class residences as the Karl Marx Hof were shelled by pro-Dollfuss troops. In July of the same year an abortive Nazi effort to seize power collapsed, but not before Dollfuss himself had been mortally wounded in the Chancellory Building in Vienna.*

[5] *During the last decade President Roosevelt has three times been a candidate for the Presidency. In 1932 he ran against Herbert Hoover, carried 42 states with 472 electoral votes, and polled nearly 23,000,000 popular votes. In his 1936 campaign against Alfred M. Landon, President Roosevelt carried 46 states, with 523 electoral votes, and polled 27,500,000 popular votes. Last fall, in the campaign against Wendell Willkie, the President won 38 states with 449 electoral votes and polled 27,250,000 popular votes.*

MR. SMITH: I wish I knew what it meant.

MR. GARRISON: Modern history, or the catalog of events?

MR. SMITH: The catalog of events *and* modern history.

MR. GARRISON: Well, modern history, I've been saying, begins about 1931; ancient history is before the first World War; medieval history, the period in between.

MR. SMITH: He is taking advantage of the decade to change the meaning of all the classifications on us, Boynton.

MR. GARRISON: Well, don't you think our period on the ROUND TABLE here is enough to make one of the grand divisions of history, or is that too large an assumption?

MR. BOYNTON: How does this decade appear in your particular field?

MR. GARRISON: I am greatly interested in what Smith was saying a moment ago about this enlargement of the scope of governmental functions to include the general welfare of men.

MR. SMITH: I thought you were going to call it "spiritual values."

MR. GARRISON: I can get along without that, but if you will understand it better I will call it spiritual values.

MR. SMITH: I don't mind what you call it if you carry the argument on it.

MR. GARRISON: Off the air a while ago you were talking about the spiritual values and about appealing in some way to the spirit of man.

MR. SMITH: If you take us back to religion, I hope you take us back to a good religion instead of a bad one.

MR. GARRISON: That is exactly what I will try to take you back to. I am a little suspicious of this return to religion that has been so much talked about. I am suspicious of any alleged or promised spiritual revival in time of war.

MR. BOYNTON: It has the same analogy with little local revivals. You are afraid of what happens, and what will happen afterwards?

MR. GARRISON: Well, yes; but these so-called spiritual revivals that come in time of war or disaster are often little more than shortcuts to safety.

MR. SMITH: You mean, you think we may backslide—return this decade to religion?

MR. GARRISON: I'm not sure that the return itself is a backslide.

MR. SMITH: Why Garrison!

MR. GARRISON: I know, it's terrible!

MR. BOYNTON: Do you think of this matter of religion in a large and possible way as a return to safety?

MR. GARRISON: Return to safety? No, not a return; a going on to a kind of safety that men have not usually had.

MR. BOYNTON: Then it is a re-establishment of safety, we'd say.

MR. SMITH: What you don't want men to do is to cry "Peace! Peace!" when there is no peace.

MR. GARRISON: Or "Security!" where there is no security. I believe in the great certainties of life, but I was aiming to say,

when you both became so solicitous lest I was going to lead you back into some period of darkness from which you have, I hope, both emerged—if you were ever there—

MR. SMITH: You are going to lead us to liberalism. I know.

MR. GARRISON: I was going to say that I think there has been a very general increase of interest in religion on the part of a good many people who have not ordinarily supposed that they were interested in religion.

MR. SMITH: He has not been in Russia and in Germany.

MR. GARRISON: I am not so concerned about whether a man is interested in religion; I am a good deal concerned about whether he is interested in the things which are really religious, and I think this interest in human welfare, based upon an understanding and appreciation of the values, the far-reaching values of men, is religious.

MR. SMITH: That is liberalism, you mean, in religion, and you want us to return to that.

MR. GARRISON: Return to it?

MR. BOYNTON: You mean, any general solution of life which is good for the individual and the community you'd call religion, at least in the mind of the man who subscribed to it.

MR. GARRISON: So far as it goes, yes; an orientation of man in his larger setting, not just in his immediate little round of daily duties and the immediate foreseeable future.

MR. SMITH: I certainly think brittle individualism has failed, if that is what you mean.

MR. GARRISON: Yes, there has been a good deal of talk in conservative circles about the failure of liberalism, and that smug,

complacent (brittle, as you call it) liberalism has failed, and the liberalism of complete individualism has failed.

MR. BOYNTON: That has become almost a fashion these later days to decry liberalism, so that "liberal" has become a derogatory word.

MR. GARRISON: Yes, it has. Nonetheless, I avow myself a liberal, unabashed and unashamed, as I think you are, Smith.

MR. SMITH: Of course I am, but let me say we haven't gone from individualism to governmentalism, because what I said a moment ago does not mean we have made a religion out of governmentalism yet.

MR. GARRISON: I hope not, for the new religion of nationalism is high religion's chief competitor today.

ANNOUNCER: *November, 1936, to September, 1939: President Roosevelt was re-elected, but soon thereafter Edward VIII, King of England for less than a year, abdicated, later to marry Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson, of Baltimore. In May, Joe Louis won the world's heavyweight boxing championship from Jimmie Braddock under the lights of Chicago's Comiskey Park.*[6] *In July, Japanese troops began the now historic "China incident."*[7] *The following March heavy-booted Germans goose-stepped into Austria, now become the Ostmark. In September, Americans heard the wind of war whistling in the Erzgebirge, wondered what "Sudeten" meant; learned a new meaning to*

[6] *Last week this title was successfully defended by Louis for the thirteenth time.*

[7] *For* ROUND TABLE *discussions of recent events in the Far East, see the broadcasts of September 29, 1940: "Crisis in the East"; January 21, 1940: "The Far East—Backdoor War?"; and July 9, 1939: "Crisis in the Orient."*

"Munich," saw an umbrella—black; and a man—tired. The Spanish civil war ended after three years of bloody struggle with the victory of the rebels under General Franco.[8] *Late in August, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a trade agreement and a nonaggression pact. On September 1st, Germany invaded Poland and World War II was under way. During these historic years the New York Yankees won four successive world championships, U.S. Steel hit a 1939 high of 82; Robert Donat starred in "Goodby, Mr. Chips," and Gary Cooper in "The Real Glory."*

MR. BOYNTON: So far both of you have been maintaining that ten years ago there was an assumption that you *could* have some general assumptions. I mean, there were things upon which people were, as a rule, agreed. That gave us a kind of security which was notably marked in one respect with reference to our ROUND TABLE; that in the first years we could project programs six or seven months in advance, because we were sure that something would not break in and smash the pattern.

MR. SMITH: All that we could agree upon was that we agreed to discuss everything that came up.

MR. BOYNTON: Yes, we discussed all those things in the early days, but we could take up a certain order and know that a more important order would not be suddenly imposed upon us. The impact had not struck in those days as it has in these later days.

MR. SMITH: Have we quickened our pace in literature as we have in religion and in government?

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[8] *The Spanish war began in the summer of 1936, five years after the establishment of the Republic and the ousting of Alfonso XIII, when General Francisco Franco passed over from Spanish Morocco into Spain with native and Spanish troops, coincident with uprisings in many of the country's military barracks.*

MR. BOYNTON: You can see just the same sort of change there. A dozen or fifteen years ago, I sketched out a little survey called *The Rediscovery of the Frontier*.[9]

MR. GARRISON: I remember that book. It was a good one, too: literature of the frontier.

MR. BOYNTON: There were hundreds of those books written.

MR. GARRISON: That was in '31, too.

MR. BOYNTON: Yes. They were looking back because they did not feel any particular necessity for looking around. Romantic reading and retrospective reading had its place in those days. Then we began to see more books that are provocative of thought. Things were happening so fast we had to think about them. People were writing and a public had developed that was ready to read about these things that would not have been ready to read about them fifteen or twenty years before.

MR. SMITH: It was certainly good for us writers to have that period come along.

MR. BOYNTON: It never made any particular boom for me, but it was a good idea on the whole. The books written by Wells, and, of course, the great scientists, Jeans and Eddington, and Bertrand Russell, and all the rest of them, had a big market because there was a world that was wakened to the fact that they had to get down to brass tacks and find out what things were about.

MR. SMITH: Book-publishing reached an all-time peak during this decade, didn't it, in this country and in others, too?

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[9] *Professor Boynton's "The Rediscovery of the Frontier" was published by the University of Chicago Press in 1931 and dealt with the place of the immigrant and the pioneer in American literature.*

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MR. BOYNTON: I don't know the figures, although, of course, there were some extraordinary "best sellers." Take, for instance, *Anthony Adverse*—I have sometimes tried to figure out how many square miles of forest were cut down to supply the paper for that book. It was enormous, of course, when you came to *Gone with the Wind*.

MR. GARRISON: Aren't you in favor of conservation of our natural resources when you see phenomena of that kind?

MR. BOYNTON: They were stimulating our national resources of conviction and emotion at the same time, so perhaps the wood was worth it all.

MR. SMITH: I like more and shorter books myself.

MR. BOYNTON: Then there was another change during this decade. It seems to me that among the programs that are on the air

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at the present time addressed to thinking listeners, there are two sorts that we did not have ten years ago. One is the "What do you *know?*" sort. There is a good deal in that. The very fact of being quick on the trigger and being able to recognize a lot of questions and allusions means that, with all the millions that are listening to those things, people are being waked up.

Then the other kind of program, of course, is the one which I hope is represented here, and that is the "What do you *think?*" type of program. There are many of this type in these later days and they are a new feature. Of course broadcasting is relatively young, but they are new even in that, I think.

MR. SMITH: These "information, please" programs put me to sleep, because I am not interested in facts. I like the second thing you suggest: What do these facts mean? What are we to think about these events?

MR. GARRISON: That conforms exactly to your own description of yourself as "an ignorant man and a philosopher."

MR. SMITH: But, of course, I am. I want to learn more, but I also want to understand better, and Boynton is going to help me through an appraisal of books of the past decade.

MR. BOYNTON: I think these fact programs are valuable. After all, your conviction has to be based on some kind of fact. In my course, "The Best Books of the Present Day," I make a distinction in my own mind between best *books* and best *sellers*, but the best books which are sometimes best sellers get right down to fundamentals. There have been books which have had an enormous appeal and have made a very great impression on the thinking of the people. Take all the ruckus aroused by the Steinbeck book.

MR. GARRISON: *Grapes of Wrath.*

MR. BOYNTON: Yes. It doesn't make any difference to me whether people like it or don't like it—it does make some, because I like it; but the main point is that people have been excited over a book which tried to get beneath the surface of human life.

MR. SMITH: Incidentally, that book puts in literal form what I was trying to say about government: an awakened sympathy for the participation of government to safeguard the standard of life for all the people.

MR. GARRISON: And how religious that profane book is, too!

MR. SMITH: I am glad to hear that. Then we are united. This is a great book, isn't it?

MR. BOYNTON: A lot of people say no, but I think so.

MR. SMITH: I haven't read it.

MR. GARRISON: The philosopher!

MR. BOYNTON: There is another kind of thing that is important, and that is that in these later days we have had books by other people, like John Dos Passos. He has undertaken probably the most ambitious program of a fiction writer in his "*U.S.A.*" in which he tries to give us a picture of the whole country, and what it is all about. I don't like some of the features of his book but I do think that he has waked a lot of people up to a realistic approach.

MR. GARRISON: Perhaps that is because you don't like some of the features of the country.

MR. BOYNTON: Well, yes, and perhaps because I don't like features of myself that I see reflected in the book, too.

MR. GARRISON: Exactly! When a man does hold up a mirror, he sees some things he doesn't like.

MR. SMITH: I think the decade has not yet brought many of us around to where we are willing to like the logic of events. We follow them grudgingly and reluctantly and do the best we can with them in war and peace.

MR. BOYNTON: All of these things, after all, have been bringing us back in all these fields to the question of fundamental values. What are the things that are really important? The best books are the ones that have been getting underneath the surface. I have always liked (to go back to the Steinbeck book) the way in which he points out that it wasn't just a *tractor* running through the Joad's house; the tractor ran through the Joad's house because of an economic law back of it. That is, an economic activity. The tractor was owned by a company, and the company was moved by a banking system, and the banking system moved just as impersonally as does gravitation.

MR. SMITH: Wait! Don't go so far back as to get Marxism; but I agree, too, that we have to find meaning in things.

MR. BOYNTON: I did not know I was talking Marxism. If so, I withdraw any implications.

MR. SMITH: Go on. I think what you say is certainly true. In my field there have been *important* books as well as books, and evidently in Garrison's field there have been *important* books as well as books.

MR. GARRISON: Yes, I think that is true, although I'll not stop to name any of them.

MR. BOYNTON: There was one other thing which I felt very distinctly in connection with this whole period. It has been an ambition we have had in our broadcasting on the ROUND TABLE, and that is that there has developed more and more a sense that things could be discussed without people getting hot under the collar. The weighing of evidence, the ability to agree or disagree with another person: that is something that we have at least been trying to plug for.

MR. GARRISON: That is part of the triumph of liberalism; the liberal mind that will vary with the different conclusions of other minds and fight for his own, too.

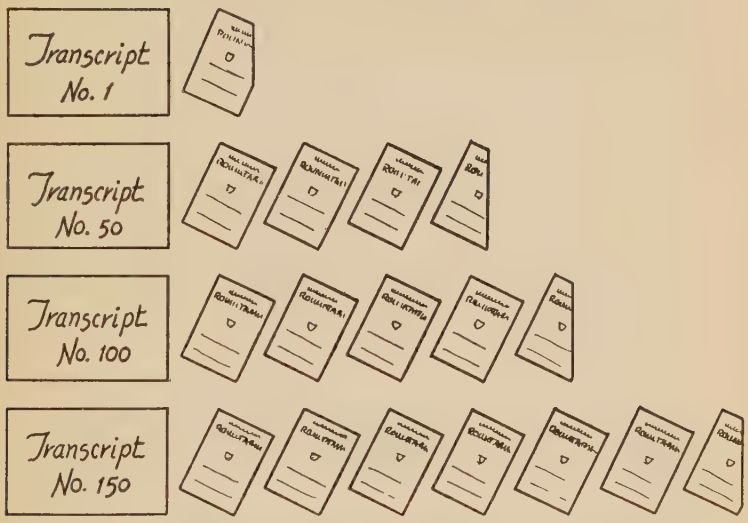
MR. BOYNTON: There is one thing in varying with different conclusions and there is another thing in admitting the right to them even if you don't like them.

MR. GARRISON: Yes.

MR. SMITH: Fortunate it is that we can say that America has kept up that tradition, as over against other countries, in which issues could be discussed, and in which liberty could be safeguarded; religious liberty, literary freedom of speech in writing; freedom of politicians, even, to have their say and do the best they can with the sufferance of their fellow citizens.

WEEKLY ROUND TABLE TRANSCRIPT DISTRIBUTION

From March, 1938, to January, 1941



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MR. GARRISON: There is this characteristic of the kind of situation we want: liberty of thought and expression for the individual, but mutual responsibility for total socialization. That is that extended function of government. That is the abandonment of the liberalism of the irresponsible individual.

MR. SMITH: Yes.

MR. BOYNTON: That implication, of course, has carried through in what each one of us in his own way has been saying.

ANNOUNCER: *September, 1939, to date: Russia, too, joined in the Polish feast and within a month the Polish state was gone. In late*

November began the Russo-Finnish war to end in March with the breaking through of the Mannerheim line. Germany invaded Denmark and Norway in April and a month later began the Blitzkrieg in the west against France and the Low Countries.[10] *Italy joined the war and in June Russia occupied Bessarabia. The Republicans named dark horse Wendell Willkie to carry their 1940 colors and Democrats re-nominated President Roosevelt for a tradition-smashing third term. In September, Japan joined the Axis and a month later Italy invaded Geeece only to be thrown back. An air blitz against Britain was launched by Hermann Goering's "Luftewaffe," but was called off when losses ran up to 200 planes a day. In December, British African forces started a drive against the Italians, ousted them from Egypt and pushed on into Axis-held Libya. America prepared to defend herself, to build tanks and planes and guns, to aid Britain fight Hitler.*

MR. SMITH: If we could put all of what we have been saying, in terms of religion and liberal thought, in terms of literature and the life of the spirit, in terms of politics and the compromise solution of our values, together, we would make the University of Chicago ROUND TABLE, for this is education as it has to be interpreted in our day. If we leave out the radio, if we leave out the press, if we leave out the movies, if we leave out any or all of the organs of public expression in our time, then education, in which we are engaged ourselves, would quickly become propaganda through the keys with which it functions and we would have indoctrination instead of education.

So I like to think at the end of this decade, in which some of our friends are still living, though, alas! some of them are dead and oth-

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[10] *The campaign of Germany in the west ended temporarily with the signing of an armistice on June 22, 1940, in the forest at Compiègne, in the same railway car in which the Allies had dictated armistice terms to Germany in 1918.*

ers are retired, that we are still engaged in the great enterprise of education along the total front. And I like to think that we are giving information as of old; that we are giving inspiration as of old; that we are giving sublimation as of old. For people who listen to us giving information and inspiration in this reasonable way can sublimate their animosities and argue still like reasonable men.

OBJECTIVE QUESTIONS FOR EXAMINATION

The answers to the following questions may be found in the text of the broadcast, and page references are provided to assist in locating the answers.

*

1. Whose *Essay on Civil Disobedience* counseled that "that government is best which governs least"? Page 3.
2. According to Professor Smith, the philosophy of government includes what *new* duties? Page 5.
3. Who was elected President of Germany in 1931? Page 6.
4. How are ancient, medieval, and modern history newly dated by the ROUND TABLE experts? Page 8.
5. What is the name officially applied by Japan to the fighting now going on in China? Page 11.
6. The German invasion of Poland began how long after the presumed settlement of the Czechoslovak problem at Munich? Page 12.
7. Name two fiction "best sellers" of recent years known not only for their literary value but also for their great length. Page 13.
8. The family Joad figured in what well-known volume by John Steinbeck? Page 16.
9. When did the Russo-Finnish war begin and end? Page 20.
10. The German air attack on Britain was carried through until what estimated number of German planes were lost each day? Page 20.

QUESTIONS FOR ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

The following questions of wider scope, intended for discussion, are suggested by the broadcast, and answers may be found in the literature on the subject listed in the section "Suggested Readings," found on page 24.

*

1. As you recall the events of the past ten years, what single happening in that time impresses you now as most vital to the world? Why?

2. Compare the "public issues" of the winter of 1930–1931 with those of the winter of 1940–1941. How do you find them to be different? How similar? In what ways do you think the events of the winter of 1930–31 might be said to have pointed to those of 1940–41?

3. How would you summarize the developments in the field of government between the prosperity years of 1929 and the war years of 1939–1941? How do you think the fundamental approach of people to their government and what it means to them has changed in the past decade? Argue for or against the proposition that any change that has taken place is good.

4. In the field of religious thought, how would you characterize the shift of sentiment in America since the first ROUND TABLE ten years ago? Do you feel this shift, if any, is of the same general sort as that in people's attitudes toward government?

5. Describe the past decade in literature. Contrast it to earlier periods. How does the literature of the thirties compare with that of the twenties?

SUGGESTED READINGS

ALLEN, FREDERICK LEWIS, *Only Yesterday.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1931. *An "informal history of the nineteen-twenties" useful as a background for the period covered by the broadcasts of the* ROUND TABLE. *A chronicle of the era "from the collapse of the New Freedom to the collapse of Wall Street."*

GUNTHER, JOHN, *Inside Europe.* New York: Harper and Brothers, 1933–1940. *The background of European politics described by an experienced foreign correspondent. This book has been frequently revised and rewritten to keep it abreast of the swiftly changing European scene. For a similar volume dealing with the Far East, see "Inside Asia" by the same author.*

MCINNIS, EDGAR, *The War—First Year.* Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1940. *An analysis of the first twelve months of the current European war, with a preliminary chapter discussing the background and origins of the conflict and supplementary materials containing important documents, a chronology of events, etc.*

SWING, RAYMOND GRAM, *How War Came.* New York: W. W. Norton, 1939. *The events behind the outbreak of war described and catalogued by a distinguished writer and commentator.*

For annual reviews of the events of the years covered by the ROUND TABLE on its tenth anniversary program, the reader's attention is called especially to the *World Almanac*, which publishes a complete chronology in each of its annual volumes, to the *Annual Register*, a British publication, and to the *American Year Book.*

The Listeners' Round Table . . . .

Letters to the ROUND TABLE *frequently contain interesting and illuminating sidelights on the subject matter discussed on the air. These comments are from letters received following the broadcast discussion of "Morale: First Line of Defense?" January 19, 1941.*

*

Blank Check

While standing over steaming dishwater listening to your wrangling, I couldn't help thinking: "That's the way a democracy works; talking, arguing, one political party trying to hold the other down, and while this rag chewing grows more violent, noisy and lengthy, the dictator makes his decision, troops begin the march, mechanized equipment rumbles on to its objective and another conquest is made before the Republicans, Democrats and Isolationists agree."

Doesn't this prove the president should, in order to compete fairly with a dictator in such a crisis, be given a "blank check"?

B. C., Missouri

*

Down South

I am so fed up with you Yankees referring to the southern people as share-croppers and Negro haters. And all the other unmitigated lies that you can think of. Of course we don't hobnob with the Negroes. We believe that they are inferior to the white people but just the same we don't hate them. Ask any of them who have migrated to the wonderful North which they like the best. A real southern Negro knows his place and stays in it. If you think that all the people are share-croppers you evidently have not been south and know nothing of our beautiful cities, universities and wonderful farm lands which are not owned by the share-croppers.

J. E. K., Florida

*

Weaklings

Your discussion regarding our moral position in defense gave the impression that you were all licked as citizens of a democracy.

The gist of your discussion tended to dignify the totalitarian state, and picture you as whimpering weaklings in the face of European despots. Hoodlums is a better word. I make one exception to that. Some person in your group said that he was sick of hearing democracy defended as something that needed defense.

It seems to me that your problem—

when you are not all talking at once, and this was disgracefully in evidence Sunday—is to be constructive in your discussion and not to be continually cowering under the influence of that rabble rousing paperhanger, Hitler.

C. R., Minnesota

*

"Democracy"

In listening to your discussion today I noticed that the word "democracy" was used a number of times. I am an old man and remember that in earlier days this word was rarely used. Democracy was regarded as a wholly impracticable form of government just a few steps removed from anarchy. Our country was not a democracy but a republic, which was thought to be the closest thing to democracy that would work.

My idea of a pure democracy is a government where the people govern themselves directly with no public officers and no taxes. For example they have no paid fire department. In case of fire everyone at hand that can be effective drops his work and runs to extinguish the fire. If a criminal is abroad, those who can leave their work go after him; if they catch him they immediately try him and if in their opinion he is guilty he is hanged to the nearest tree. For lynching is a thoroughly democratic procedure: direct action by the people, dispensing with all formalism and ritual. Of course such a form of government is proper only under the most primitive conditions, and the farther we move from the primitive, the less workable does democracy become. Therefore as civilization proceeds we must necessarily leave democracy farther and farther behind. The decline of democracy is in direct proportion to the increase of taxes.

D. D., Illinois

*

Morale

If there is anything that raises my morale, it is the courage and efforts of Norman Thomas. If there were more like him, the morale of our citizens would be safe from attack either from outside or inside.

A. S., Iowa

*

America First

Did Hitler get cooperation and support by urging that his people subscribe to loyalty to a foreign power? No, his appeal was loyalty to Germany and to the German people.

Are the people of Britain suffering as they are today to protect the Chinese or the Americans? No, they are fighting for Britain and for Britain alone.

Yet we in the United States are told we must fight, must sacrifice, must die, for the British Empire. I move in a social group composed of members of the Daughters and Sons of the British Empire and they are now boasting that at last the British are winning the war of 1776. They are about to incorporate the United States into the British Empire. Do you think

such proclamations contribute to the morale of patriotic Americans?

Stop the British propagandists from proclaiming that our safety depends upon the British navy. Our safety depends upon ourselves and we can take care of that. Since the British navy can't save the people of Britain from the pounding they are getting, and since the British navy must keep out of the way of German bombs, how can that navy protect us?

"Justice," Pennsylvania

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96. *Is Our War News Accurate?*
98. *The Jews*
100. *Is Russia Losing in Finland?*
101. *Tariff Walls*
102. *War Myths*
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106. *Can We Protect America?*
108. *The Archbishops Look at America*
109. *Scandinavia on the Spot*

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111. *Where's that War Boom?*
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113. *Blitzkrieg, May, 1940*
114. *America and the Peacemongers*
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117. *Have We Time to Think?*
118. *Italy Marches.* June 16, 1940
119. *America's Capacity to Arm*
120. *Economic Union for the Americas*
121. *Civil Liberties and the Fifth Column*
122. *M-Day and America*
124. *Should America Conscript Men Now?*
125. *The New France*
126. *What Really Happened at Havana?*
128. *Blitzkrieg on Britain.*
129. *Should America Aid Britain?*
130. *Should America Feed Europe?*
131. *Can Germany Conquer Latin America?*
132. *Conscript Wealth, Too?*
133. *Crisis in the East*
134. *Will Hitler Attack America Next?*
135. *YOU, Soldier*
136. *The Balkans Aflame*
137. *Warmongers and Appeasers*
138. *Polls and the Election*
139. *America's Defense Policies*
140. *World Revolution*
141. *Art and Our Warring World*
142. *The Soviet Union and America*
143. *Is Hitler Revolutionizing Britain?*
144. *Where Are Those 50,000 Planes?*
145. *The Movies*
146. *1951: The Next Decade in Education*

1941

147. *More Aid to Britain Now?*
148. *Is This Our War?*
149. *Morale: First Line of Defense?*
150. *Can Capitalism Defend America?* January 26

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City	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*	*City*	*Call Letters*	*Kilocycles*
Allentown, Pa.	WSAN	1440	Memphis, Tenn.	WMC	780
Altoona, Pa.	WFBG	1310	Miami, Fla.	WIOD	610
Asheville, N.C.	WISE	1370	New York, N.Y	WEAF	660
Atlanta, Ga.	WSB	740	Norfolk, Va.	WTAR	780
Baltimore, Md.	WFBR	1270	Philadelphia, Pa.	KYW	1020
Boston, Mass.	WNAC	1230	Pittsburgh, Pa.	WCAE	1220
Buffalo, N.Y.	WBEN	900	Portland, Me.	WCSH	940
Charleston, S.C.	WTMA	1210	Providence, R.I.	WJAR	890
Charlotte, N.C.	WSOC	1210	Raleigh, N.C.	WPTF	680
Cincinnati, Ohio	WSAI	1330	Richmond, Va.	WMBG	1350
Cleveland, Ohio	WTAM	1070	Rochester, N.Y.	WHAM	1150
Columbia, S.C.	WIS	560	Savannah, Ga.	WSAV	1310
Dayton, Ohio	WING	1380	Schenectady, N.Y.	WGY	790
Detroit, Mich.	WWJ	920	Springfield, Ohio	WIZE	1310
Florence, S.C.	WOLS	1200	Tampa, Fla.	WFLA	620
Grand Rapids, Mich.	WOOD	1270	Toledo, O.	WSPD	1340
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Jacksonville, Fla.	WJAX	900	Wilmington, Del.	WDEL	1120
Johnstown, Pa.	WJAC	1370	Winston-Salem, N.C.	WSJS	1310
Lakeland, Fla.	WLAK	1310	Zanesville, Ohio	WHIZ	1210
Lima, Ohio	WLOK	1210			

1:30 P.M. CENTRAL STANDARD TIME

Amarillo, Texas	KGNC	1410	Madison, Wis.	WIBA	1280
Birmingham, Ala.	WBRC	930	Mankato, Minn.	KYSM	1500
Bismarck, N.D.	KFYR	550	Minneapolis and		
Bristol, Tenn.	WOPI	1500	St. Paul, Minn.	KSTP	1460
Chicago, Ill.	WMAQ	670	New Orleans, La.	WSMB	1320
Duluth, Minn., and			Oklahoma City, Okla.	WKY	900
Superior, Wis.	WEBC	1290	Omaha, Neb.	WOW	590
El Paso, Texas	KTSM	1310	Pittsburg, Kans.	KOAM	790
Evansville, Ind.	WGBF	630	Rochester, Minn.	KROC	1310
Fargo, N.D.	WDAY	940	St. Cloud, Minn.	KFAM	1420
Fort Wayne, Ind.	WGL	1370	St. Louis, Mo.	KSD	550
Hattiesburg, Miss.	WFOR	1370	Shreveport, La.	KTBS	1450
Jackson, Miss.	WJDX	1270	Sioux Falls, S.D.	KSOO	1110
Kansas City, Mo.	WDAF	610	Springfield, Mo.	KGBX	1230
Kingsport, Tenn.	WKPT	1370	Terre Haute, Ind.	WBOW	1200
Laurel, Miss.	WAML	1310	Tulsa, Okla.	KVOO	1140
Little Rock, Ark.	KARK	890	Wichita, Kans.	KANS	1210
Louisville, Ky.	WAVE	940			

12:30 P.M. MOUNTAIN STANDARD TIME

Albuquerque, N.M.	KOB	1180	Phoenix, Ariz.	KTAR	620
Billings, Mont.	KGHL	780	Pocatello, Ida.	KSEI	900
Boise, Ida.	KIDO	1350	Safford, Ariz.	KGLV	1420
Bozeman, Mont.	KRBM	1420	Salt Lake City, Utah	KDYL	1290
Butte, Mont.	KGIR	1340	Tucson, Ariz.	KVOA	1260
Denver, Colo.	KOA	830	Twin Falls, Ida.	KTFI	1240
Helena, Mont.	KPFA	1210	Yuma, Arizona	KYUM	1210

11:30 A.M. PACIFIC STANDARD TIME

Fresno, Cal.	KMJ	580	San Francisco, Cal.	KPO	680
Los Angeles, Cal.	KFI	640	Seattle, Wash.	KOMO	920
Medford, Ore.	KMED	1410	Spokane, Wash.	KHQ	590
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Can the Americas Be Invaded?

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A UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO ROUND TABLE BROADCAST

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FEBRUARY 9, 1941

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HUGH M. COLE, Instructor in History, University of Chicago

LELAND DE VINNEY, Instructor in Sociology, University of Chicago

MAJOR AL WILLIAMS, Aeronautical Expert and Columnist

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SUGGESTED READINGS

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